

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 6484

EXDIS USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENTS OF JULY 29, 1977
(SALT TWO - 1313)

THE FOLLOWING ARE STATEMENTS DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF JULY 29, 1977.

SEMENOV'S FIRST STATEMENT, JULY 29, 1977

AS YOU KNOW, THE BASIS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BEING WORKED
OUT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS IS THE
UNDERSTANDING REACHED AS A RESULT OF THE SOVIET-US NEGOTIA-
TIONS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN VLADIVOSTOK AND RECORDED IN
THE AIDE MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974.
THIS UNDERSTANDING, AS WELL AS THE RESULTS OF THE SUB-
SEQUENT SOVIET-US NEGOTIATIONS ENSUING THEREFROM, WHICH ARE
TO GUIDE THE DELEGATIONS IN THEIR WORK ON THE DRAFT TEXT OF
THE NEW AGREEMENT, ESTABLISH A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BALANCE IN
THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, WITH AN ACCOUNT
FOR THE SPECIFICS OF THE STRATEGIC SITUATION EXISTING AT THE
TIME THE CORRESPONDING DECISIONS WERE TAKEN, AND IN ITS DYNA-
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MICS, I.E., FOR THE TERM OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.
THE TASK OF THE DELEGATIONS IS TO SEE TO IT THAT THE
LIMITATIONS WHICH WILL BE ESTABLISHED UNDER THE NEW AGREE-
MENT, EFFECTIVELY CURBING THE RACE IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE
ARMS, CONSISTENTLY EMBODY THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THESE UNDER-
STANDINGS AND ENSURE STRICT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLE
OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, WHICH HAS BEEN AGREED BETWEEN

THE SIDES, THEREBY PREVENTING EITHER SIDE FROM OBTAINING
UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE IN ANY FORM WHATSOEVER.

THE STATEMENTS OF L.I. BREZHNEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU AND CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM
OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR, SET FORTH THE SOVIET UNION'S
PRINCIPLED APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF REDUCING THE OVERALL
AGGREGATE LEVEL OF STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES, WHICH IS
REFLECTED, IN PARTICULAR, IN SUCH JOINT SOVIET-US DOCUMENTS
AS THE "BASIC PRINCIPLES OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FURTHER LIMITA-
TION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS" OF JUNE 21, 1973 AND THE
AIDE MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974.

THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT AND DOES NOT REGARD THE LIMITA-
TIONS AGREED UPON IN VLADIVOSTOK AS THE FINAL STAGE IN OUR
JOINT EFFORTS TOWARD CURBING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND REDUCING
THE RISK OF WAR. AS L.I. BREZHNEV NOTED IN HIS SPEECH AT
THE XVI CONGRESS OF SOVIET TRADE UNIONS, THE SPECIFIC TASK
IN TERMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-US RELATIONS, AS
SEEN BY THE USSR, IS "COMPLETION OF THE PREPARATION AND SIGNING
OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE
ARMS, IN THE MAIN ALREADY AGREED UPON IN 1974, AND FURTHER
PROGRESS ON THIS BASIS TOWARD MUTUAL ARMS REDUCTION, SUBJECT
TO STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL
SECURITY OF THE SIDES."

IN HIS SPEECH IN TULA IN JANUARY 1977 L.I. BREZHNEV
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EMPHASIZED THAT THE USSR "IS READY TO GO EVEN FURTHER IN
QUESTIONS OF LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS. AT FIRST, HOWEVER, IT
IS NECESSARY TO CONSOLIDATE THAT WHICH HAS ALREADY BEEN
ACHIEVED, TO IMPLEMENT WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED UPON IN VLADI-
VOSTOK; ALL THE MORE SO, SINCE THE TERM OF THE INTJRM
AGREEMENT EXPIRES IN OCTOBER OF THIS YEAR. IT WOULD THEN
BE POSSIBLE IMMEDIATELY TO PROCEED TO NEGOTIATIONS ON MORE
FAR-REACHING MEASURES."

AND THIS MUST BE ACCOMPLISHED BY THE APPROPRIATE AGREED
TIME; THIS PLACES A DEFINITE RESPONSIBILITY ON OUR DELEGATIONS
AND REQUIRES THAT WE WORK INTENSIVELY AND PRODUCTIVELY DURING
THE MONTH OF AUGUST.

IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE, THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS
FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT MUST
RECORD THE OVERALL MAXIMUM LEVELS ESTABLISHED BY THE VLADIVOSTOK
UNDERSTANDING --2,400 AND 1,320.

IT IS CLEAR FROM THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS,
AND FROM THE US DELEGATION'S STATEMENT AT THE JULY 26, 1977
MEETING, THAT THERE IS MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING TO THE EFFECT THAT
THE OBLIGATION OF THE SIDES TO LIMIT STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES
TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER NOT TO EXCEED 2,400 BE RECORDED IN

ARTICLE III, AND THAT ARTICLE V CONTAIN A MUTUAL OBLIGATION TO LIMIT STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER NOT TO EXCEED 1,320.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 6484

EXDIS USSALTTWO

THUS, THERE IS AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SIDES BOTH ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THESE MOST IMPORTANT LIMITATIONS, AND ON THE METHOD OF PRESENTING THEM IN THE NEW AGREEMENT. THE USSR DELEGATION IS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIT UNION TO STATE THAT, PROVIDED THE REMAINING QUESTIONS ARE APPROPRIATELY RESOLVED, THE SOVIET SIDE IS PREPARED TO INCLUDE IN THE AGREEMENT A PROVISION TO THE EFFECT THAT AFTER 1980 THE AGGREGATE LEVELS OF DELIVERY VEHICLES BE REDUCED BY 150, E.E., FROM 2,400 TO 2,250. IN PRACTICAL TERMS THIS REDUCTION WOULD BE CARRIED OUT OVER A PERIOD OF 18 MONTHS BEGINNING JANUARY 1, 1981.

THE USSR DELEGATION AGREES TO FORMULATING A PROVISION ON THE REDUCTION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ARTICLE III OF THE DRAFT.

I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE SIZE AND TIMING OF THE REDUCTION OF THE AGGREGATE LEVEL OF STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES, REFERRED TO IN THE PROPOSAL SET FORTH BY THE SOVIET SIDE, ARE A SERIOUS STEP AND ARE PROMPTED BY THE TASK OF MAINTAINING THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY IN
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THE NEW AGREEMENT, AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING, AND THAT THEY IN FACT ENSUE FROM THE SUBSTANCE OF THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN THE SIDES.

AS FOR THE SPECIFIC PROCEDURES IN CONNECTION WITH THIS REDUCTION, THEY WOULD BE WORKED OUT IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION. A PROVISION ON THIS SCORE -- AND HERE, AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THERE IS AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE BETWEEN THE SIDES -- COULD BE INCLUDED IN ARTICLE XI OF THE DRAFT.

THE USSR DELEGATION PROPOSES THAT THE DRAFTING GROUP WORK ON COMBINING THE FORMULATIONS AND ORGANIZING THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT, WHICH CONCERN THE QUESTION OF REDUCING THE ESTABLISHED AGGREGATE LEVEL OF STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES, IN ORDER TO INCLUDE APPROPRIATE PROVISIONS IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT WHICH WILL BE DRAWN UP AS OF A NEW DATE--THAT IS, AS OF AUGUST 5, 1977.

THE USSR DELEGATION IS ALSO UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO REAFFIRM THE READINESS OF THE SOVIET SIDE TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCING THE LEVELS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS IMMEDIATELY AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE AGREEMENT PRESENTLY BEING WORKED OUT, AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE AGREED PROVISION OF ARTICLE XV OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT. ACHIEVEMENT OF POSITIVE RESULTS ALONG THESE LINES, WHICH WOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ALL THE ASPECTS OF THE STRATEGIC SITUATION AND WOULD THEREBY ENSURE CONSISTENT AND STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY AND INADMISSIBILITY OF UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE, WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE IN TERMS OF FURTHER JOINT EFFORTS BY THE SIDES TO CURB THE ARMS RACE AND STRENGTHEN THE FOUNDATIONS OF WORLD PEACE. IN THIS CONNECTION, I MUST ONCE AGAIN STRESS THE POSITIONS OF THE USSR ON ARTICLES XII AND XIII OF THE DRAFT, WHICH WE HAVE REPEATEDLY SET FORTH AND WHICH ARE SECRET

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OF VITAL IMPORTANCE IN TERMS OF ACHIEVING A VIABLE AND STABLE AGREEMENT IN THE COURSE OF THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS.

SEMENOV'S SECOND STATEMENT, JULY 29, 1977

THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP HAS WORKED OUT THE TEXTS OF THE AGREED STATEMENT AND COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE VII OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT. THUS, WORK HAS BEEN COMPLETED ON REACHING AGREEMENT ON ALL PROVISIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THAT ARTICLE, IN ADDITION TO THE TEXT OF ARTICLE VII ITSELF WHICH WAS AGREED TO EARLIER. THE USSR DELEGATION

NOTES WITH SATISFACTION THE DEFINITE PROGRESS WHICH HAS THUS
BEEN ACHIEVED IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE
JOINT DRAFT TEXT.
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